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ABSTRACT

Three states--California, Texas, and Florida--currently account for almost one-fourth of all the country's nonfarm jobs. The total number of jobs in these three states exceeds the total employment in 30 other states put together. These economic changes have had a very direct effect on the geographic distribution of the country's population, which is reflected in the large migrations to these states that have occurred. According to projections, this migration should continue through the year 2000 so that these states will continue to experience population increases at the expense of those states that thrived under a manufacturing-based economy. It is important to remember, however, that the country's population distribution has the potential to change dramatically again as America continues to move from a goods-producing to a service-producing economy. The intensive marketing campaigns that are currently being waged by many cities, states, and regions to attract new service-oriented business has the potential to alter future migration patterns dramatically. Another important factor in the population picture is the changing political power structure as areas gain or lose population, thus gaining or losing electoral votes. (MN)

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MONOGRAPH

The Changing Geography of America

by

Dr. Seymour L. Wolfbein

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DR. SEYMOUR L. WOLFBEIN spent the first 25 years of his working life in the Federal service in Washington, DC, most of it in the U.S. Department of Labor where he rose through the ranks to become Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor. He also was the first Manpower Administrator under President Kennedy; during this time he developed and headed the system which collects and analyzes employment and unemployment conditions in the USA. For 40 months in a row, Dr. Wolfbein conducted the monthly national press conference on employment and unemployment before the media.

In the mid-1950s, Dr. Wolfbein published two landmark papers in which he predicted the shift in the American economy from goods to service producing sectors, and the emergence of the South and Southwest as the areas of greatest economic development. He twice received the Department's Distinguished Award.

In 1967, Dr. Wolfbein became Dean of the School of Business Administration at Temple University, serving 12 years in that position. During that time the School's faculty increased from 60 to 210, was listed in the top ten in graduate work in economics and introduced curricula in Computer and Information Science and Health Administration.

Dr. Wolfbein has lectured in 33 countries for the U.S. Department of State and the USIA, has been the U.S. Delegate to various international meetings in Geneva, Lisbon, Paris, Athens and Rome, helped establish and was Dean of Temple University's Campus in Japan and was Dean of Faculties at the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies in Salzburg, Austria.

Dr. Wolfbein's doctorate is from Columbia University. The University has awarded him a medal in Economics and an Alumni Award of Honor. He is an elected Fellow of the American Statistical Association and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and is the author of eight books and over 100 articles in professional and technical journals.

Today Dr. Wolfbein is president of his own management consulting firm, and while he has worked with many of the Fortune 500 companies, he is also concentrating on the relatively smaller and medium size establishments where he thinks a good deal of the action will be until at least the year 2000. Dr. Wolfbein's expertise has made him a popular lecturer, and he appears before a wide variety of educational, management and related meetings both here and abroad.

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THE CHANGING GEOGRAPHY OF AMERICA

In a country as large and diverse as the USA, as is indeed the case in many other countries of the world, the shifting location of jobs and people represents a significant indicator of social, economic and even political change. An examination of the changing geography of America yields some striking examples of not only how that terrain has been redrawn in recent years, but also provides some major clues to what lies ahead for us at the end of this century and beyond.

The key fact is that the sheer physical location of jobs has experienced almost unprecedented change, which in turn has elicited equally significant population shifts, all with important consequences for the education, training and employability of the American labor force

A. Geographic Profile

Here are seven points about the current scene affecting the dynamics of the geography of new jobs, for each of which we provide a brief illustrative comment:

1. In the USA with its fifty states, it turns out that only three of them account for almost one fourth (over 23%) of all non-farm jobs in the country. These three states - California, Texas and Florida - have replaced the former leading triad of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, more about which a little later on.

2. Some idea of the geographic concentration of employment opportunity is given by the fact that the job total of a little over 22 million in these three states exceeds total employment in 30 states put together. Just one major industry division in these three states - services (the fastest growing sector of the recent past) employs more people than the total number employed in 15 states put together. Just one industry division in the smallest of the three states - Florida's employment in trade (buying and selling at wholesale and retail) exceeds total employment in each of 23 states.

3. Although movement of people and jobs has been characteristic of this country even before it got together as the United States of America, concentrations of population and employment always have been a hallmark of its economy. For a long time the Middle Atlantic states as the Census Bureau calls them - New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania - led the job parade going back to the last century. Even in 1945, as World War II came to an end and ushered in significant increases in both population and employment, those three states were indeed number one, also accounting for about one out of every four of the nation's jobs. New York was the leader and with a little over 5 million jobs exceeded total employment in California, Texas and Florida put together. Employment in the Middle Atlantic States in 1945, at 10 million non-farm jobs, equalled all employment in the six New England States in 1945 plus all the employment in the 20 Southern states including Texas and Florida.

4. But the wheel has turned, as a few summary figures show

	% of All Non-farm Jobs in :	
	1945	1986
Cal.,Tex., Fla.,	12.7%	23.1%
N.Y., N.J., PA	24.9	16.7
Ohio, Il., Mich.	17.7	13.3
Mass., R.I. Conn.	7.5	5.2
N.C., S.C., Ga.	4.7	6.9
Utah, Colo., Ariz.	1.5	3.5

5. Aside from portraying the reversal in form which took place in the post World War II era between the two trios of states, a few other combinations show the differential impact of economic events on the job picture in some other regions. In general, as can be seen from Table 1(see page 6), the biggest growth has occurred along the rim of the country from the Southeast across the Southwest and up the Pacific coast. All sorts of combinations can be made from the figures in Table 1 which shows the record for each state, but they all confirm this general pattern.

6. The range of change among the states in their growth in the non-farm job sector during these four decades has indeed been enormous. Well below the national average are states in New England such as Maine and Rhode Island, Middle Atlantic states such as New York and Pennsylvania, industrial states of the Midwest such as Ohio and Illinois. Well above the average, of course, are the familiar group of California, Texas and Florida, such states of the Southwest as Arizona and Colorado and the Carolinas in the Southeast.

7. It is important to note that population change has responded very directly to these economic changes. For example, California, Texas and Florida had 19% of the country's population in 1970, but accounted for exactly double that, 38%, of the nation's population increase 1970 to 1980. The only way that could take place was for a very heavy migration stream to move in their direction which, of course, is exactly what happened.

B. The Demography of Our Geography

All of this leads into another crucial point: Our insight into what is and what may be expected to transpire on these fronts increases considerably when we meld the facts about our changing demography with those of our changing geography.

For example, just as important as the direction of migration has been the answer to the question: "Who moves?" The fact of the matter is that the highest rates of internal migration in the USA prevail among those who have been able to get the most education and develop the highest skills. Not too long ago came one of the great reversals in our history on this matter: There was a net migration of Blacks *to* instead of *from* the South – unheard of for the past 200 years.

Whether they be Black, White or members of any other group, these changes are going to continue to take place as migration continues to respond to changes in economic opportunity, again particularly among the better educated and more highly skilled. The gains and losses that any area experiences, particularly in view of what has and is expected to happen to the diminishing supply of new young workers from here on out to at least the turn of the century, as well as the continuing emphasis on the educational, training and skill requirements of our jobs, makes this kind of phenomenon a matter of considerable import to every area of the country.

For Example:

Because of declining birth rates, the Census Bureau recorded a 5% decline in the USA in the number of persons under 5 years of age between 1970 and 1980. These, of course, are the coming clientele of the elementary schools, as well as high schools and even institutions of higher learning and the work force as we move into the next century.

The 5% drop is the national figure. California, Texas and Florida had *increases* in their populations under five years of age of 4%, 14% and 17% respectively. On the other hand, for example, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania had declines of 24%, 21% and 19% respectively.

Demonstrating again that in demography the past is truly prologue, sure enough the results have been forthcoming as expected. New data from the U.S. Department of Education already show *increases* in enrollments in public

elementary and secondary schools of 6% in Florida and California and 11% in Texas between 1980 and 1986, while, during the same period, those enrollments *declined* by 12% in Pennsylvania, 11% in New Jersey and 9% in New York.

Every state in the New England, Middle Atlantic and industrial Midwest experienced declines in the number of persons under 5 years of age between 1970 and 1980 and declines in school enrollments from 1980 to 1986. Every state in the Southern, Southeastern and Pacific rim showed increases in their numbers of persons under 5 years of age and, with few exceptions, already have shown enrollment increases during the period of 1980-86. The implications for geographic differentials in everything from the demand for teachers to the forthcoming supply of new and educated hands have major consequences for program and policy planning.

In a similar vein, we note again the significant drop scheduled to take place through the year 2000 in the number of new young workers 16 to 24 years of age in the USA. However, if the kinds of geographic change, which have been described here, continue to the turn of the century, changes in the number of new young workers will show up as follows among some of the states:

% Change in New Young Workers 1975-2000

Florida	+69
Arizona	+75
Texas	+23
California	+9
Ohio	-17
New York	-19
Pennsylvania	-19

But right here our story changes in a very important way. The past-is-prologue axiom holds tight when it comes to the vital statistics on age, sex, etc. as we illustrated in the example of the relationship between the past record in changes in the number of children under 5 and the subsequent trends in school enrollments by state. Items such as migration and economic development are not that fixed, however, as the record spelled out here for the past forty years has shown. This, of course, is exactly where new programs and policies, new techniques and development, particularly as they relate to the education and training of the new labor supply and the retraining and updating of the experienced labor force, can make the difference

C. The Quest for Economic Development

As our economy moves to a predominantly service-producing from a predominantly goods producing mode, the factors that affect the locational preferences and needs of business and industry have changed in many significant ways. This is particularly the case as the white collar occupations have moved into a majority position and where almost across the occupational spectrum the need is to be able to read, write and do numbers and where quality of life gets a great deal of attention.

All of this shines through in the thousands of ads, brochures and just about every other communication device used by cities, states and regions, by industry, labor and government to herald the advantages of doing business in their own areas.

A few examples from newpapers and magazines of relatively recent vintage:

Atlanta quotes a leading industrialist as saying that "We're moving our national headquarters to Atlanta to make our management more effective" and a

man of culture as saying, "In Atlanta, the arts have a chance to become what the history of man has shown they should be."

Baltimore's Promotion Center signs itself "Baltimore: Charm City USA" and holds that "Baltimore has a big, busy airport and quiet little neighborhoods; the dazzling Preakness of downtown Pizzaz; Mencken, Fitzgerald and the Babe."

The Greater Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce says: "Cincinnati. It's more than just a pretty face – It's also a city with a striking personality."

And the Economic Development Commission of Tulsa tells us that "Frederick Remington created only 25 bronze sculptures in his lifetime. We have 18 of them. Culture is just one facet of the dynamic quality of life that makes Tulsa America's most liveable city."

In the meantime, New York and New Jersey face each other across the river, and New Jersey's Public Service Electric and Gas, which has produced excellent materials in the field of economic development, talked about "New Jersey is offices-with-a-view. If you think that New Jersey has very little country-style living, think again. Leave your office or plant anywhere in the state, and a few miles later you're enjoying the sight of wide-open spaces, rolling hills and beautiful suburban communities ideal for easy living."

To which New York's W.W. Wriston, former head of Citicorp, opined that "The basic reason why you stay in New York is that all of the great ideas of the world were formed in urban centers: Athens, Rome, Paris, Lisbon, London, New York. The reason is that in New York you can meet 10 different fellows or women who are smarter than you are every day of the week. The intellectual stimulation of New York is what it is all about. If you go out in the woods somewhere and eat lunch in some company dining room, the first thing you know, you think you know all there is to know in the world."

At which point it is possible to refer to Public Service Electric and Gas Co.'s brochure on Brainpower which emphasizes New Jersey's strengths in high tech and which begins with a picture and a quote from Albert Einstein, "The concern for man and his destiny must always be the chief interest of all technical effort."

Other countries also have joined the fray, hoping to bring American industry to their shores. We find the Development Committee in Bombay saying that "India is the world's richest country! Leading international investors make a startling rewarding discovery - Brainpower."

And from the Industrial Development Authority of Ireland: "Some of the best business brains are Irish. Come to the source. Think of the Irish. Gregarious, friendly, quick-witted. Famous for their way with words. Now think of this-Last year, Ireland produced more computer science graduates per capita than the United States."

"Tulips. No one understands the needs of growing industries like the Dutch. Whether supplying two-thirds of the world's cut flowers, or nuturing the latest biotechnology discovery to fruition, the Dutch have a way of making things grow. Adaptable, resourceful, highly educated, multi-lingual", says the Netherlands Industrial Commission.

It is interesting to note the absence of low key references to such items as taxes, raw materials, transportation, the hardy staples of economic geography of not too long ago and the new copy replete with references to brains, education, decent living, etc. Not that the more classic matters of economics are not

important still, but apparently they now have to take their rightful place with other highly relevant matters as well. It is significant to note that a study under the aegis of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, spotlighting problems of central cities, focused on decisions by firms to change their location. It found that "City's quality of life more important than business related factors" and went on to point out that "the greatest perceived disparities between cities with the most favorable business climate and those with the least favorable are in the following order: - and then names "Quality of city's schools" in first place.

Perhaps it is not surprising that a decision to move does focus on whether an area does have what it takes to produce the skills needed to get out the goods or service which is to be made. It turns out, therefore, that the evidence seems to be piling up that a very basic common denominator to the changing geography/demography phenomenon is indeed the education and training of the labor force.

D. The Politics of Economic Geography

We come now full circle to where we began when reference was made to the political implications of our changing geography as well as their social and economic impacts. Perhaps the clearest and most concise way of showing this is by the following tabulation of what has happened to the state distribution of the electoral college vote for President and Vice-President of the United States over the past third of a century, which also reflects the changing distribution of congressional seats:

State Distribution of Electoral Vote 1986-88

State	56	88	Change	State	56	88	Change
Alabama	11	9	-2	Montana	4	4	
Alaska	-	3		Nebraska	6	5	-1
Arizona	4	7	+3	Nevada	3	4	+1
Arkansas	8	6	-2	New Hampshire	4	4	
California	32	47	+15	New Jersey	16	16	
Colorado	6	8	+2	New Mexico	4	5	+1
Connecticut	8	8		New York	45	36	-9
Delaware	3	3		North Carolina	14	13	-1
Florida	10	21	+11	North Dakota	4	3	-1
Georgia	12	12		Ohio	25	23	-2
Hawaii	-	4		Oklahoma	8	8	
Idaho	4	4		Oregon	7	8	+1
Illinois	27	24	-3	Pennsylvania	32	25	-7
Indiana	13	12	-1	Rhode Island	4	4	
Iowa	10	8	-2	South Carolina	8	8	
Kansas	8	7	-1	South Dakota	4	3	-1
Kentucky	10	9	-1	Tennessee	11	11	
Louisana	10	10		Texas	24	29	+5
Maine	5	4	-1	Utah	4	5	+1
Maryland	9	10	+1	Vermont	3	3	
Massachusetts	16	13	-3	Virginia	12	12	
Michigan	20	20		Washington	9	10	+1
Minnesota	11	10	-1	West Virginia	8	6	-2
Mississippi	8	7	-1	Wisconsin	12	11	-1
Missouri	13	11	-2	Wyoming	3	3	

During this period of time, California, Texas and Florida gained 31 electoral votes (an increase of almost 50%) while the Middle Atlantic states went down by 10 electoral votes. California, Texas and Florida now elect more than one out of every five (22%) of the membership of the House of Representatives and now have more than one out of every three (36%) of the votes needed to elect a President in the electoral college, reflecting the changing geography of jobs and people over a relatively short span of American history

What of the future in the politics of our economic geography? We already have pointed out that the past-is-prologue is not as fixed here as it is in our basic

demography. However, seven years of the current decade already have had their course and only a few more years will see another census which will shape the electoral college for the last decade of this century

What do those 7 years portend? A new projection just out at the beginning of 1988 shows that the trends depicted so far are still on the move. California is scheduled to get 4 more seats; Florida would be up for 3 more as would Texas. This will mean 10 more congressional seats for those three states and move up their total electoral count to 107 or 40% of the votes needed to elect a President. States such as Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan, and Ohio would lose 2 seats apiece. States such as Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and West Virginia would each lose a seat; states such as Arizona, Georgia and Virginia would each gain a seat.

Thus, the factors which are changing economic geography, and the demographic-geographic mix and even the politics of those phenomena are apparently still very much on the move.

All of which reinforces the importance of putting the spotlight on the education, training, skill development, and employability of the American labor force.

Table 1

NONFARM EMPLOYMENT IN THE U.S. BY STATE
(In Thousands)

1945 to 1986

	1945	1986	% Change 45-86
Alabama	579	1,462	153%
Alaska	-	222	-
Arizona	137	1,341	879
Arkansas	273	814	198
California	2,961	11,272	281
Colorado	296	1,402	374
Connecticut	689	1,602	133
Delaware	98	363	209
District of Columbia	487	641	316
Florida	562	4,590	717
Georgia	425	2,675	269
Hawaii	-	437	-
Idaho	103	334	224
Illinois	2,854	4,777	67
Indiana	1,107	2,228	101
Iowa	508	1,077	112
Kansas	422	983	133
Kentucky	466	1,077	174
Louisana	541	1,524	182
Maine	258	477	85
Maryland	651	1,951	200
Massachusetts	1,647	2,981	81
Michigan	1,798	3,639	102
Minnesota	678	1,891	179
Mississippi	268	849	217
Missouri	1,059	2,132	101
Montana	115	276	140
Nebraska	287	654	128
Nevada	48	469	877
New Hampshire	149	489	228
New Jersey	1,573	3,487	122
New Mexico	106	528	398
New York	5,061	7,906	56
North Carolina	759	2,732	260
North Dakota	81	249	180
Ohio	2,418	4,475	85
Oklahoma	424	1,140	169
Oregon	385	1,057	175
Pennsylvania	3,335	4,795	44
Rhode Island	279	442	58
South Carolina	396	1,338	238
South Dakota	95	252	165
Tennessee	682	1,927	183
Texas	1,579	6,581	317
Utah	169	634	275
Vermont	91	234	157
Virginia	728	2,557	251
Washington	707	1,770	150
West Virginia	461	597	30
Wisconsin	897	2,015	125
Wyoming	65	199	206
USA	40,051	97,073	142

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

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